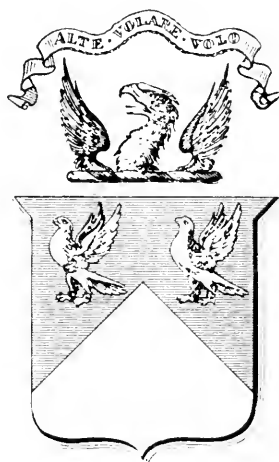




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THE ADMINISTRATIVE  
HISTORY OF THE BRITISH  
DEPENDENCIES  
IN THE  
FURTHER EAST

BY  
H. MORSE STEPHENS

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## THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH DEPENDENCIES IN THE FURTHER EAST

THE striking diversity of Great Britain's administration of her various dependencies in the Malay Peninsula and around the China Sea is due to the history of their establishment and growth. Thrown in comparatively close proximity, can be seen four distinct methods of governing Asiatic possessions. There exist almost side by side: (1) the Straits Settlements, exhibiting the system characteristic of the government of India, that of holding certain strategic points under direct British administration, while controlling, as a dependent protectorate, a number of states, whose native rulers are guided in their internal government by British officers; (2) the state of Saráwak, of which the labor and the profits of government belong to an individual, who possesses the attributes of sovereignty, but yet is a British subject and under the protection of the British government; (3) the territories of the British North Borneo Company, the first created of the new governing companies founded on the lines of the old East India Company, rendering profits to stockholders but under elaborate charter restrictions; and (4) the island of Hong Kong, which is from its geographical conditions unable to expand over adjoining territory, and is held for commercial and military reasons under the direct administration of the British Colonial Office.

In all these four dependencies local conditions have influenced administrative development, but in their history, even more than in their local conditions, can be traced the different causes which have led to the difference of their administrative expedients. Though the problems their administrators have to face are somewhat different there are yet certain characteristics common to them all. In each the problem of the Chinaman is present. The commercial gifts of the most commercial of races have placed the business interests of all four dependencies in Chinese hands, while the political difficulty of effectively managing the members of the race most alien to European ideas needs the most careful handling. In three of the four dependencies the Malays complicate the difficulty of handling the Chinese, for the *Pax Britannica* prevents the Malays from mur-

dering their astute commercial oppressors and the government is therefore forced to take measures for their protection.

It is not proposed in this article to deal with the actual condition of the four British dependencies in the Further East or to describe in detail the existing systems of administration. Such information can be easily obtained from the different Blue Books and official reports, of which summaries can be found in such easily accessible works of reference as the *Colonial Office List* and the *Statesman's Year-book*. A brief account of their history and geography can be read in the excellent *Historical Geography of the British Colonies* by C. P. Lucas.<sup>1</sup> It is intended rather to deal with the administrative evolution of the four dependencies, pointing out the salient points of their history and thus illustrating the complexity of the colonial administration of the British Empire.

When the hundred years of the Portuguese monopoly of the Asiatic trade with Europe came to an end with the appearance of the Dutch in 1596 and of the English in 1600 in Asiatic seas, the merchants of the two great Protestant trading nations made first for the Spice Islands. It was the peppers and the spices of the Further East that promised the largest profit; and the first factories, as the establishments were called where stocks of the desired commodities were collected for conveyance to Europe by the annual fleets, were founded by both the Dutch and the English in the islands of Java and Sumatra. The rivalry between the Dutch and the English merchants was extreme, and the massacre at Amboyna in February 1623 roused the wrath of the whole English nation. As the seventeenth century proceeded the rival nations gradually separated their areas of Asiatic trade. The Dutch East India Company devoted itself mainly to the importation of peppers and spices, and for this reason concentrated its energies upon the Spice Islands, Ceylon and the Malabar coast of India, while the London East India Company, without surrendering its desire to compete in this lucrative business, fixed its attention rather upon India, and fostered its trade with Surat and Bengal and, after its foundation in 1639, with Madras. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, when English power in Europe was increasing while that of the Dutch was waning, the affairs of the London East India Company were vigorously managed by a great statesman. Sir Josiah Child, whose imperial ideas foreshadowed a century before their time the great events which were to make the English masters of India, resolved to press the claims of his Company to a larger share of the trade of the Further East. He was unable, indeed, to recover Bantam in

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I.; Oxford, 1888.



Java (which had for a time been the London East India Company's chief spice and pepper factory) owing to the intrigues of the Dutch, but the expedition sent for that purpose in 1684 founded a factory at Bencoolen in Sumatra, protected by Fort Marlborough, which became eventually the nucleus of the East India Company's establishments in the Further East. He made vigorous efforts to open up a profitable trade with China and Japan, but there likewise the Dutch were before him and a long time was to elapse before the English traded on an equality with the Dutch in those distant seas. Batavia, the capital of the Dutch Indies, was better placed than Calcutta or Madras to control the trade to the Further East; and the English writers in the beginning of the eighteenth century describe in bitter terms the relentless opposition of the Dutch to all their efforts to establish themselves in their rival's sphere of influence. It was true that the Dutch and the English were allies in Europe and fought side by side against France in the War of the Spanish Succession; but at that very time appeared Hall's *History of the Barbarous Cruelties and Massacres committed by the Dutch in the East Indies*, a little book which had a wide circulation and exerted considerable influence at the time of its publication in 1712. The English free merchants or "interlopers," as they were officially termed, made great inroads on the monopoly of the Dutch trade in the Further East, as well as on that of the chartered English merchants, as can be seen from the pages of that most entertaining of interloping sea-captains, Alexander Hamilton, whose *New Account of the East Indies*, published in 1727, is full of narratives of his successfully outwitting both Dutch and English officials. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the interlopers carried on the brunt of the fight with the Dutch, while the East India Company's station at Bencoolen was harassed from Batavia and prevented from making adequate returns for the capital expended for its maintenance. But the middle era of the century witnessed a change in the situation. The triumphs of the English in India reacted upon their position in the Further East. Clive's daring in facing responsibility, and the victory of Forde over the Dutch expedition sent into Bengal in 1759, definitely assured the predominance of the English in the Further East as well as in India, and when Warren Hastings came to the helm of the East India Company's affairs in India, a fresh effort was made to use the recognized power and prestige of the Company's government to expand the volume of English trade in the Malay Peninsula, in the Spice Islands and in China seas.

It would be tedious to narrate in detail the various early attempts made by the East India Company to secure what it

considered its fair share of the trade of the Spice Islands during the seventeenth century. The only accurate statement of these efforts is to be found in a publication by the India Office, which is in the form of an official report and does not pretend to be an historical narrative. Nevertheless Mr. F. C. Danvers has compiled a work of the greatest historic value, in his *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Records of the India Office: Records relating to Agencies, Factories, and Settlements not now under the Administration of the Government of India*, published in 1888. Mr. Danvers in this report has given a classified list of all the documents touching his subject preserved in the India Office, with a brief summary of the information they contain, so that it is now possible for any student who desires to trace the history of the East India Company in Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Cochin China, China or Japan to find out exactly what assistance he can obtain from the papers preserved at the India Office. Mr. Danvers indicates in his summaries the difficulties under which the factory at Bencoolen suffered from the enmity of the Dutch, the various unsuccessful attempts made by the Company to form settlements in the island of Borneo, and the methods pursued in prosecuting trade with China and Japan. The curious practice of confiding the charge of the China trade to the care of the "supracargoes" of the different ships sent in the annual fleet to Canton, who were to meet in committee and live at the Company's expense while purchasing Chinese commodities for the European market, out of which grew the China establishment of the East India Company, is outlined as well as the various attempts to obtain admittance to other ports than Canton. Many interesting topics of this sort are suggested in the report of Mr. Danvers upon the primary authorities, which will be used, it is to be hoped at no distant date, by a competent scholar.

The triumphant conclusion of the struggle with France for the predominance in India extended the sphere of influence of the East India Company to the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. In earlier years their attempt to open trade with Burma and Siam had culminated in disaster. In 1687, the Company's servants at Mergui in Tenasserim, where a trade had been opened with the Siamese, were massacred, and a similar slaughter at Negrais in 1759 closed the attempt commenced six years earlier to open up commerce with the Burmese. But the free-trading or "interloping" captains continued to carry on their venturesome business of commerce without intervention or protection of forts or factories. Through one of them, Captain Francis Light, came the first permanent settlement of the English in the Malay Peninsula. This enterprising voyager mar-

ried the daughter of the native ruler of Kedah or Queda, and proposed to Warren Hastings in the name of his father-in-law to cede an island called Pulo Penang, off the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, to the East India Company, in return for a pension of six thousand dollars a year.<sup>1</sup> Warren Hastings had too much to do in saving the English in India to conclude this transaction, but his temporary successor, Sir John Macpherson, seized upon the opportunity and announced to the Court of Directors of the East India Company on March 25, 1786, that the British flag had been hoisted on the island of Penang, which was in courtly fashion given the new name of the Prince of Wales's Island. Macpherson considered this acquisition one of the chief glories of his brief administration and speaks of the new settlement as "advantageous for our fleets and beneficial to the trade with China, as well as to British and Asiatic commerce."<sup>2</sup> Captain Light governed Penang until his death in 1794 and the settlement advanced in prosperity under his patriarchal administration in spite of occasional disputes with the ruler of Kedah. About the time of his death the East India Company began to take a more direct interest in the little settlement. The Protestant Netherlands had been overrun by the French, and the Batavian Republic, which replaced the former government of the United Provinces, was at once at war with England. This gave the East India Company its opportunity for revenging itself for many humiliations and for putting an end to the power of the Dutch in Asia. It is unnecessary to specify the various naval operations, which, starting from Penang and Bencoolen as their bases, placed the British in possession of all the outposts of Dutch occupation in the Spice Islands. It is enough to state that the value of Penang became more and more evident. In 1802, the governor, Sir George Léith, increased the area of the settlement by acquiring from the ruler of Queda for ten thousand dollars a year of additional pension a district on the mainland opposite the island, eighteen miles long and three miles broad, which he named after the Governor-General of India, the Province Wellesley.<sup>3</sup> In 1805, Penang was formed into a presidency, like Madras and Bombay, with a governor and council corresponding directly with the Governor-General in India and the Court of Directors in England. Meanwhile, the outlying posts being conquered,

<sup>1</sup> The text of this treaty and of its successor explaining it in 1791 is in Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds relating to India and the Neighboring Countries*, Calcutta, 1876, Vol. I., pp. 302-307.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Case of Sir John Macpherson, Baronet, late Governor-General of India, containing a Summary Review of his Administration and Services prepared by Friends from authentic documents*, August, 1808 [not published, but privately printed], p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Aitchison, I. 305-307.

it was resolved in 1810, by the Governor-General, Lord Minto, to complete the subjugation of the Dutch in India by the conquest of the island of Java. And now first appears upon the scene that most famous Englishman in Malay history, the future founder of English influence in Eastern seas. When Penang was made a presidency, it was resolved to send out from England a new establishment of officers for its administration. One member of this staff was a young man of twenty-four who had been for ten years an extra clerk in the India House and had there attracted the attention of one of the directors of the East India Company by his intelligence and diligence. Thomas Stamford Raffles soon gave evidence of his exceptional ability. He mastered the Malay language, became secretary to the Penang government, travelled with observant eyes through the Malay Peninsula and joined Lord Minto at Calcutta in time to aid in the direction of the expedition against Java. The English expedition was entirely successful, the Dutch lines at Cornelis were stormed by the British troops under the gallant Rollo Gillespie, and Dutch India passed into the hands of the East India Company in September 1811.<sup>1</sup>

Raffles was appointed lieutenant-governor of Java and was given an opportunity of trying his hand at administration on a large scale. This is not the place to compare either the theory or the practice of Dutch and English administrators in Asia. It is enough to state that the whole of the Dutch system was utterly abhorrent to Stamford Raffles. It was based upon forced labor which Raffles and all other English observers have stigmatized as slavery or at the very least serfdom of the worst kind. The Dutch according to Raffles looked upon their possessions in the Spice Islands as sources of material wealth and did not regard themselves as owing any obligation to civilize or justly rule their Asiatic subjects. The problem of administering a vast agricultural community so as to allow personal freedom, self-respect and a fair share of the profits of their labor to the actual cultivators, had been honestly, if not always successfully, faced in India. Raffles applied the same ideas to Java. He abolished forced labor; he took the control of the police and of the administration of justice out of the hands of native chiefs and confided it to European officers, and by sympathetic treatment won the affection of the people of Java who had been terrorized into almost constant insurrection by the Dutch.

When the great war with Napoleon was over the English gov-

<sup>1</sup> The best account of the conquest of Java is *Memoir of the Conquest of Java with the subsequent Operations of the British Forces in the Oriental Archipelago*, by Major William Thorn, London, 1815; see also Lady Minto's *Lord Minto in India*, London, 1880.

ernment resolved to deal generously with the Dutch. Selfish commercial considerations might have induced Lord Castlereagh and his colleagues in the English cabinet to retain the Spice Islands, and Raffles earnestly protested against restoring their former dependencies to the administrators who had shown so little understanding of native ideas. But considerations of European policy prevailed. The English ministry desired to make the new kingdom of the Netherlands a powerful state, and this they hoped to do by restoring to the Dutch their former possessions in the Eastern seas. The interests of the Malays were not consulted. By the order of the British government the former Dutch possession in the Spice Islands together with the settlement of Malacca in the Malay Peninsula were restored to the Dutch in 1818, while the East India Company retained only its former settlements of Bencoolen and Penang. But the man was still in the English service whose foresight and administrative skill were to make up the British Empire for the loss of Java, and Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who had been knighted during a visit to England, assumed the government of Bencoolen in Sumatra in 1818. He at once perceived that the generosity of the English ministers had given the Dutch a fresh opportunity, not only to hamper English trade with the Spice Islands, but even to control the direct passage from India to China through which the commerce of the Further East with Europe was obliged to pass. The Dutch government controlled the straits between Sumatra and Java and made preparations as soon as they had regained their former dependencies to arrange with the rulers of Johore and Rhio for control of the narrow passage between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Raffles at once appealed to the Marquis of Hastings, the Governor-General of India, to avert this peril. The two English settlements Bencoolen and Penang looked toward the West; Raffles saw that if England's commerce in the Far East was to attain its natural development it was necessary to control a passage-way to the China Sea and to establish some post that should look towards the East. For this purpose he selected the little island of Singapore, which lay off the extreme point of the Malay Peninsula. The island was almost uninhabited and eulogists of Raffles are apt to assert in the words of his biographer that it was "unknown alike to the European and the Indian world."<sup>1</sup> This is hardly true, for old Alexander Hamilton, in his *New Account of the East Indies*, remarks: "In Anno 1703 I called at Johore on my Way to China, and he (the king of that place) treated me very kindly, and made me a present of the Island of Singapore, but I

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v.

told him it could be of no Use to a private Person, tho' a proper Place for a Company to settle a Colony on, lying in the Center of Trade and being accommodated with good Rivers and Safe Harbours, so conveniently situated, that all Winds served Shipping both to go out and come into those Rivers."<sup>1</sup> Raffles was as much struck with the advantages of the island of Singapore as Hamilton, and he made arrangements with the rulers of Johore for the establishment of a factory there. A treaty was signed and the purchase of the island made on February 6, 1819;<sup>2</sup> a few days later the British flag was hoisted and the settlement commenced. Singapore was at first placed under the control of Bencoolen or Fort Marlborough, of which Raffles was governor, which gave him the opportunity to have the island and its approaches carefully surveyed, and the elements of prosperity secured by wise measures in laying out the future capital of the Straits Settlements. The Dutch vehemently protested against what they termed an invasion of their rights, and the matter was referred to the home governments in Europe. After long diplomatic negotiations it was arranged that the English should abandon Bencoolen, thus leaving the whole island of Sumatra to the Dutch, while the Dutch on their side gave up Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, the former capital of the Portuguese in Eastern seas, to the East India Company. It was further agreed that the control of the Peninsula should belong to the English and of Sumatra and Java to the Dutch, which prevented either nation from excluding the other from the direct passage to the China Sea. The treaty<sup>3</sup> embodying this important arrangement was signed on March 17, 1824, about a month after Sir Stamford Raffles had sailed from Asia for the last time.

The treaty of 1824 was followed by important measures of administrative concentration. Hitherto Penang and the Province Wellesley had been governed as an independent presidency corresponding with the Court of Directors, governed by a governor and council appointed in England, and administered by a covenanted civil service, with independent medical and other establishments similar to those existing in the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. Bencoolen or Fort Marlborough had likewise been regarded as an independent settlement, but it had never been raised to the rank of a presidency and its officials had held a somewhat anomalous posi-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1727, Vol. II., p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> See the text of the treaty in Aitchison, I. 327-329.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the treaty is in Aitchison, I. 62-69. The important articles are the 9th, by which England cedes Fort Marlborough and engages that no British settlement shall be formed in Sumatra, and the 10th, by which the Dutch cede Malacca and make a similar engagement about the Malay Peninsula.

tion. One of the most important privileges of a presidency was that it possessed a High Court of Judicature, appointed directly from England from the English bar, which was invested by letters patent from the Crown with jurisdiction in all places and over all offences. The presidency of Penang, or as it was officially termed, Prince of Wales's Island, was too small to need a supreme court consisting of a chief justice and puisne judges, and it was therefore given a recorder's court, like that which existed at Bombay down to 1823, presided over by a single judge entitled the Recorder of Prince of Wales's Island. By the Act 5 George IV., cap. 108, the island of Singapore, which had hitherto been under Bencoolen, and the settlement of Malacca, which had been ceded by the Dutch to the English Crown, were transferred to the East India Company, and by 6 George IV., cap. 85, the Company was authorized to annex Singapore and Malacca to Prince of Wales's Island or otherwise as they might see fit.<sup>1</sup> Under the powers of this act the Directors of the East India Company on October 12, 1825, constituted the three settlements on the Malay Peninsula into one administrative government, to consist of a governor and three resident councillors, one of whom was to reside at each of the settlements. The jurisdiction of the Recorder of Prince of Wales's Island was extended and the Supreme Court of Judicature in each settlement was to consist of the recorder, the governor and the local resident councillor. A member of the Madras civil service, Mr. Robert Fullerton, was appointed governor, and the Company's officials formerly employed at Bencoolen were transferred to the service of the new government. Although Singapore rapidly advanced in prosperity the expense of the administration of the three settlements in the Malay Peninsula was so great that it was speedily resolved to reduce the status of the government. Lord William Bentinck, who had been sent out to India as Governor-General in 1828 on a mission of economy, carried out the reduction. The capital of the Malay settlements and the seat of the recorder's court were removed from Penang to Singapore in 1830; the separate civil service and other establishments were abolished; and the control of the settlements was confided to a resident at Singapore, who was made directly subject to the Governor-General of India and who was deprived of the status and salary and the privilege of communicating with the Court of Directors, which the governor had enjoyed. The former establishments of the Prince of Wales's Island presidency were amalgamated with those

<sup>1</sup> *An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company and of the Laws passed by Parliament for the Government of their Affairs at Home and Abroad*, by Peter Auber, London, 1826, pp. 257-259, 382.

of Bengal, but it is worthy of note that the civilians who administered the government of the Malay settlements down to the end of the Company's existence were men who had been members of the old Prince of Wales's Island service, who had joined that establishment on coming to Asia, and who were therefore trained from the beginning of their career to a knowledge of Malay habits and customs and a perfect acquaintance with the Malay language.

The laws administered in the Malay settlements were the regulations of the government of India which had been in force when Prince of Wales's Island was made a presidency in 1805, amended by the regulations made in the presidency itself, by its governor in council. After 1830 all legislation remained in the hands of the Governor-General of India in Council; local regulations could be made by the resident at Singapore but had to be submitted to the Governor-General for confirmation. The recorder remained the chief judicial functionary, but magisterial powers were exercised, as in India, by the local officials who combined the functions of collecting the revenue and maintaining the peace. So large had been the staff of the former presidency that for many years no new covenanted civilians were needed and their clerical assistants were imported from the Madras presidency, while police duties were performed by Malays, officered by Europeans. The normal garrison for several years consisted of two regiments of Madras native infantry, although the general government was superintended from Bengal, for the Madras sepoys showed none of the objections to crossing the Bay of Bengal which characterized their Bengal brethren; and officers in the Madras army, who, when in garrison, took the trouble of learning the Malay language, were often detached from their regiments and appointed to administrative offices. Problems of administration were extremely simple in Penang and Malacca, from both of which places commerce soon departed to the better situated settlement at Singapore. In them the control of affairs was entrusted to officials termed resident councillors. Their main duties were to superintend cultivation, to improve it by introducing new staples, to collect the land revenue after the method in India, to do justice in patriarchal fashion and to lead the Malay cultivators into paths of industry. Their chief interest was in exploring the mainland beyond the limits of the little British provinces and their chief excitement, disputes with occasional hard fighting against the neighboring Malay chieftains.

In Singapore however the situation was entirely different. The almost uninhabited island soon became, as Raffles had foreseen, a commercial centre of great importance. Its safe harbor made it the



natural stopping place of all ships sailing to China and it also became an entrepôt of island commerce, to the entire overshadowing of the Dutch capital at Batavia. From the very beginning Singapore had been declared a free port and since no customs dues were ever levied the trade of the Philippines, of Borneo, of Siam and the Moluccas converged to it. The advantages for trade were quickly observed by the Chinese, who flocked to Singapore in large numbers, and the control and management of the Chinese population presented features of peculiar difficulty to the British officials. The more ambitious among them, like Mr. S. G. Bonham, devoted themselves to the study of the Chinese language and the mastery of Chinese habits and customs, to the great advantage of the service of the state when the First Chinese War resulted in the possession by Great Britain of a Chinese dependency. The special foreign problems that faced the Singapore administration were the management of relations with the rulers of Johore, from whom the island had been purchased, and the necessity of taking measures to deal with the pirates who infested the neighboring seas and gravely interfered with the development of commerce. The government of India had almost reduced to a science the art of dealing with native rulers, and by alternate threats, concessions and the exertion of personal influence the successive early residents at Singapore, Mr. Ibbetson, Mr. Murchison and Mr. Bonham, managed to keep the peace with their neighbors of Johore and to avoid the necessities of war and annexation. The pirate difficulty was of more importance, and it was not until after the outbreak of the First Chinese War that the home government perceived the necessity of dealing with this evil by commencing a systematic attempt to put down piracy by the use of ships of the Royal Navy.

The imperial value of Singapore was first made evident during the war with the Chinese which began in 1841. It was at Singapore that the fleet and military expedition made their rendezvous, and Singapore was the real base of operations throughout the three campaigns that followed. The naval and military commanders all bore witness to the excellence of the harbor of Singapore: the accumulation of supplies there greatly increased the prosperity of the settlement, and it was at this time that this out-lying post of the dominions of the East India Company first became familiarly known to the English people. This is not the place to examine the causes or to trace the history of the First Chinese War. But it is necessary to notice briefly the relations of the East India Company with China and how and when those relations had been broken off, in order to show how it was that England's dependency of Hong

Kong was never under the control of the East India Company and was from the first administered as a crown colony. In the eighteenth century the East India Company possessed the monopoly of Chinese as well as of Indian trade, and many efforts were made to found some factory on the Chinese coast which could be held permanently for the collection and storage of cargoes for the annual shipment to England. The story of the obstinate resistance of the Chinese authorities to the settlement of an English factory belongs to the general history of the commerce of China with Europe. Owing to the impossibility of forming a factory the China trade of the East India company was conducted from 1715 to 1770 by the supercargoes of the different ships sent to China, who were directed on arrival at Hong Kong to keep a common table and to act in harmony in fixing prices. The Chinese government prohibited trade elsewhere than at Canton, where a corporation known as the Hong merchants was formed to deal with the supercargoes for the management of foreign trade. In 1770 the East India Company resolved that the supercargoes should permanently reside in China instead of going to and fro on their ships as they had formerly done, and a regular establishment was formed resembling the mercantile staff of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay from which the covenanted civil services of three Indian presidencies had grown. It is curious to note in the titles of the Company's civil officials in China traces of their origin. Whereas down to 1840 the civil servants in India, though rulers and judges, were still divided officially into the four classes of senior merchants, junior merchants, factors and writers, so in China the Company's servants were denominated until the break-up of the China establishment as supercargoes and writers. The governing body of the supercargoes was known as the Select Committee, and the president of the committee corresponded directly with the Court of Directors of the East India Company and was entirely independent of the Governor-General of India. The China establishment of the East India Company were not permitted for many years to reside on Chinese soil, and they therefore made their residences in the island of Macao, which belonged to the Portuguese and was situated in the mouth of the Canton River. Their work was easy and lucrative, and appointments to the China establishment were invariably given by the Directors of the East India Company to their own immediate relatives. Their duties were to provide for the Company's investment in China and they never became like their colleagues in India a service of statesmen and rulers. The most exciting events in the history of the Company's China establishment were the embassies sent by the English government to

the Chinese emperor in 1793 under Lord Macartney and in 1816 under Lord Amherst. There were the usual troubles caused by free merchants interfering with the Company's monopoly and certain special and curious difficulties caused by the persistent prohibition of the Chinese government against the residence of European women in China. In 1813 the East India Company's monopoly of trade with India was abolished, but the monopoly of China trade was continued for a further period of twenty years.

The protest of the English merchants, however, made itself loudly heard, and the first reformed Parliament in 1833 abolished the monopoly of the China trade. The greater part of the former China establishment of the East India Company was transferred to the Bengal civil service, when the abolition of the monopoly was finally accomplished in 1834, and the home government had to appoint an imperial official, Lord Napier, as "superintendent of trade," in order that there might be some one with authority to deal with the corporation of the Hong merchants. Captain Charles Elliot succeeded Lord Napier in 1836, and during his tenure of office the events occurred which led to the outbreak of the First Chinese War. One of the most important results of that war was the cession to Great Britain of the island of Hong Kong. This dependency was from the very first classed as a crown colony and governed directly through the Colonial Office. Its first three governors were indeed servants of the East India Company, for Sir Henry Pottinger was an officer in the Bombay army, Sir John Davis a member of the former Chinese establishment, and Sir George Bonham a successful resident at Singapore, but they had none of them during their government any direct connection with India. It was their experience in the Company's service, however, which made them the successful administrators of the new possession. The laws and local regulations which they put into force closely resembled those which had proved successful at Singapore; they drew their administrators mainly from India, until an effective Hong Kong civil service had been brought into being, and in particular they made Hong Kong, like Singapore, a free port, and imitated the Singapore trade regulations. While admitting, therefore, that the administrative history of the dependency of Hong Kong is distinctly differentiated from that of the Straits Settlements in that it owes nothing directly to Indian influence, it may yet be said that it could hardly have been so immediately and entirely successful had it not had Indian example to guide it and Indian administrators to watch over its growth. The problems of Hong Kong were those of Singapore over again, without the complications arising from the mixture of Chinese and Malay inhab-

itants, and the way in which those problems have been met in such manner as to create two flourishing Asiatic dependencies, commanding two strategic points and controlling vast commerce, has reflected credit upon the administrators formed in the great school of the East India Company. It should be added that in Hong Kong, as in Singapore and India itself, care was taken to separate the supreme judiciary authority from the administration, so that there should exist to deal with important cases and in appeal from administrative officers exercising magisterial functions an entirely unbiassed court, consisting of a judge or judges appointed from the English bar, which could control unjust administration by its legal knowledge and complete independence.

It cannot be said that the Chinese War or the annexation of Hong Kong were in any way due to the British occupation of Singapore, although that occupation simplified the military and naval operations; it was otherwise with the expansion of British power in the island of Borneo, which was the direct outcome of the struggles entered into with the Malay pirates as Singapore became more and more the centre of the island trade. The treaty with the Dutch in 1824 declared that "no British establishments shall be made on . . . or on any of the other islands south of the Straits of Singapore, nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the chiefs of those islands."<sup>1</sup> The island of Borneo lies partly to the south of the Straits and the Dutch appealed to this treaty to prevent British extension there. This had its weight undoubtedly in preventing the direct extension of British power on that island, where it was left to a British subject and to a British company to establish sovereignty. Yet many attempts had been made by the East India Company during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to establish factories in Borneo, and the failure of these factories had been due as much to the persistent opposition of the Dutch as to the ferocity of the Malay inhabitants. It is worth noting that in the sixteenth century the Portuguese had from their capital at Malacca exercised considerably more influence over Borneo than their successors the Dutch had ever done from Batavia or the Spaniards had effected from the neighboring Philippines. The language of the natives abounds in words derived from the Portuguese,<sup>2</sup> while the Dutch and the Spaniards have made but little impression upon the minds of the people. It was from Borneo that the most daring pirates of the China Sea set out to prey upon all passing commerce, and spasmodic efforts were made by ships of the Indian

<sup>1</sup> Aitchison, I. 67, Article II of the treaty.

<sup>2</sup> Information derived from Mr. Charles Hose of the Rájá of Saráwak's service.

navy after the occupation of Singapore to suppress this piracy.<sup>1</sup> But the Singapore government itself could do little in this direction and the first vigorous efforts were made by an English adventurer, the celebrated Rájá Brooke.

James Brooke<sup>2</sup> was the son of a distinguished member of the Bengal civil service and was an officer in the Bengal army from 1819 to 1830. In the year in which he left the army he first visited the Straits Settlements, and in 1838, attracted by the prospects there, he sailed from England on a personal adventure in a ship owned and commanded by himself. It was his deliberate purpose to introduce British ascendancy into Borneo, and he soon established a remarkable reputation and obtained an extraordinary influence over the Malay and Dayak inhabitants of that island. This led the Sultan of Brunei, the chief native ruler, to confer upon him the nucleus of the present state of Saráwak with the title of Rájá in 1842. It is not necessary here to deal with the romantic life of Rájá Brooke in Borneo; it is enough to note that his experience led him to abolish forced trade and every sort of slavery and to establish in its place a simple system of administration. He dispensed justice among his people in patriarchal fashion and won their affection. He was exceedingly desirous from the very first to make it clearly understood that he was not instigated by personal ambition, but that he wished to use his authority to extend British influence and to ameliorate the lot of the natives. He co-operated heartily with the officers of the Royal Navy in suppressing piracy<sup>3</sup> and induced the Sultan of Brunei in 1846 to cede to the British government the little island of Labuan at the mouth of the Saráwak River as a commanding point for operations against the pirates and as possessing coal mines which might be usefully worked. He was himself the first governor of Labuan, and he trained there and at Saráwak many men who learnt from him the management of Malays, among whom perhaps the most distinguished was the present Sir Hugh Low. Close communication was naturally maintained between the British dependency of Labuan, the independent state of Saráwak and the East India Company's settlement at Singapore,

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Indian Navy*, by C. R. Low, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> For the biography of Rájá Brooke, see *Life of Sir James Brooke, Raja of Sarawak*, by Sir Spenser St. John, London, 1879, and *An Account of Rajah Brooke*, by Gertrude L. Jacob, London, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. "Dido" for the Suppression of Piracy*, London, 1846, and *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H. M. S. "Maeander"*, London, 1853, by Capt. the Hon. (now Sir) Henry Keppel; *Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. "Samarang," 1843-46, in the Eastern Archipelago*, by Capt. Sir Edward Belcher, 1848; and *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes down to the Occupation of Labuan*, by Capt. (afterward Sir) George Rodney Mundy, London, 1848.

although the three were under entirely different authorities. Rájá Brooke found the Chinese as inevitable and as difficult to handle in Saráwak as successive governors found them at Singapore. They were the only people of commercial aptitude and therefore outwitted the more backward Malays. Trade on anything like an extensive scale was only possible through Chinese agency. Yet neither Brooke nor any of the English administrators liked the Chinese. Their secret societies banded them together against the authorities whenever they disapproved of any tax or police measure. They were not amenable to the arguments which could be effectively applied to savage and uncivilized races. They were clever enough to combine against anything of which they disapproved and the forces of European civilization were unable to influence them. In 1857 the Chinese of Saráwak made an attempt to murder Rájá Brooke and his English associates; he saved his life with difficulty and recovered his authority only by the fidelity of the Malays and Dayaks.

During the period in which Rájá Brooke was establishing himself in Borneo and the British administration at Hong Kong was being placed upon a permanent footing under the Colonial Office, the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Penang and Malacca continued to be governed from Calcutta as part of the territories of the East India Company. Experience had shown that the best method of dealing with the troublesome Chinese question was to inspire the leaders of the Chinese mercantile community with confidence in the administration and to use them to control their brethren. One old gentleman in particular, named Whampoa, fills a large place in the records of the time as the representative Chinaman and as the confidant of the governor in all Chinese questions. Still more serious for the protection of trade was the question of dealing with piracy. To the east of Singapore this matter was dealt with mainly by ships of the Royal Navy, aided by Rájá Brooke; in the Dutch islands the Dutch ships co-operated; but the government of the Straits Settlements had to do the work for itself along the Malay Peninsula. The Malays were daring and inveterate pirates and the government at Singapore was first brought into contact with the various native states in the Malay Peninsula by negotiations for the suppression of piracy. A series of treaties was made with the different native states for this purpose, of which the most important was signed with the Sultan of Perak on October 18, 1826, by which the Sultan ceded to the East India Company the territory known as the Dindings, including the island of Pangkor, a district containing about two hundred square miles, eighty miles to the

south of Penang and celebrated as a pirate haunt.<sup>1</sup> The negotiations with these Malay chiefs were carried on by officers who had the experience of the government of India to go upon, and although it was not then considered expedient to appoint residents to the native states the way was paved for that policy. The most serious difficulty that arose during these varied negotiations was as to the question of the sovereignty of these petty rulers. It was only after many treaties had been entered into that it was discovered that the King of Siam possessed a sort of shadowy supremacy over the whole Malay Peninsula. This led to long and complicated negotiations with him and to the sending of many embassies to Bangkok, of which the most important were those of Mr. John Crawford in 1821, Capt. Henry Burney in 1826 and Sir James Brooke from Saráwak in 1850.

The great Bengal Mutiny of 1857 did not affect the prosperity of the Malay settlements, for the regiments in garrison at Penang and Singapore belonged to the Madras army, which was not implicated in the insurrection. But as a result of the Mutiny the East India Company ceased to exist, and all its dominions passed to the British Crown. The Malay settlements for a time continued to be governed from Calcutta and in 1861 the last Indian officer was appointed to administer the dependencies. By this time the line of civilians who had originally been trained in the old Prince of Wales's Island civil service had died out and the last of them, Mr. E. A. Blundell, sent in his resignation. The subordinate posts had long been held by Bengal civilians, or by officers detached from the Madras army who had learnt the Malay language while stationed with their regiments at Penang or Singapore. The governor appointed in 1861 had however not previously been employed in the Malay Peninsula. He was Colonel Orfeur Cavenagh, an old Bengal officer who had lost a leg at the battle of Mahárájpur and had done good service during the Mutiny as town and fort-major of Calcutta. It so happens that Cavenagh was inspired towards the end of his long and useful life to publish a small volume which he entitled *Reminiscences of an Indian Official*.<sup>2</sup> In this book he gives a full and interesting account of his administration of the Malay settlements, abounding in quotations from documents and in personal anecdotes. An animated description is given of his management of the Chinese at Singapore, of his annual tours to Malacca and Penang, of his intercourse with the Dutch, of his visit to Saráwak and of his experience with the Siamese. It is fortunate for students of the history of the British settlements in the Malay Peninsula that

<sup>1</sup> Aitchison, I. 310, 311.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1884.

there exists such a volume as Cavenagh's *Reminiscences*, and reference can safely be made to it for a striking and faithful picture of administration in that part of the world thirty years ago. He boasts of the proved value of Singapore to the Empire during the Second Chinese War and prides himself on the growth in its prosperity during his government. Like other Indian officers he had a very poor opinion of the Dutch administration in the neighboring islands, which he declares to be based on wrong principles. "Although Holland honestly strives," he says, "to improve the material condition of the native races under her rule, her yoke is heavy, and they are denied the blessings of real freedom. Some day they may discover her weakness and their own strength. Her empire in the East may be compared to a bow too highly strung; should the cord once snap there would be a complete collapse."<sup>1</sup> This prophecy has not yet come true, but the long and bitter wars that the Dutch have been forced to wage against the Achinese in Sumatra have more than once imperilled their authority. One other quotation upon the character of the Malays may be made from Cavenagh's book, because it gives such a different point of view to that of those observers who regard the Malays as a race of treacherous pirates, and because it illustrates the universal endeavor of English administrators to promote education. "The Malays," he says, "in many respects, resemble my own countrymen" (Cavenagh was an Irishman); "they are quick-witted, easily excited, ready to undergo any amount of fatigue in the way of sport or amusement, but not, as a rule, much given to steady labor, and greatly under the influence of their priests. Knowing this last circumstance, when I commenced the introduction of elementary education, wherever the village priest was qualified I placed him at the head of the local school. He consequently became a supporter instead of an opponent of the government, and it was a priest who, in the first instance, increased the number of his scholars by the presence of his own daughter, and was pleased at the notice her cleverness attracted. His example was followed by others, and there were three or four schools where boys and girls received instruction in the same classes."<sup>2</sup>

In 1866 it was resolved to transfer the Malay dependencies from the superintendence of the government of India, and the Straits Settlements were formed into a crown colony administered directly from the Colonial Office, like Hong Kong and Labuan. There was much to be said in favor of this important administrative change. The problems of administration were different from those in India, and it was a little absurd that the legislation necessary for the Malay

<sup>1</sup> Cavenagh, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Cavenagh, pp. 262, 263.



settlements should have to pass under the supervision of the government of India. There are some experienced British administrators in Asia who would go a step further and who would remove Burma from the control of that government in consideration of the fact that the Burmese people differ in race and religion from the peoples of India, and who would make a separate vice-royalty of Burma and the Malay Peninsula, giving, perhaps, the administration of Ceylon instead to the government of India. At any rate it must be admitted that the Malay settlements have owed much to the wisdom and devotion of their Anglo-Indian administrators, and that when they were handed over to the Colonial Office they were transferred in a flourishing condition, with a fine staff of officials and splendid traditions of administrative duty. By the Act 29 and 30 Victoria, cap. 115, the government of the Straits Settlements was formed on the model of that of the other crown colonies, with a governor aided by an executive and a legislative council, with a Straits Settlement civil service, vacancies in which were filled by public competition, with a High Court of Justice consisting of a chief Justice and two puisne judges, appointed from the English bar, and with a garrison directly under the control of the War Office. The act took effect in the following year. Colonel Cavenagh was somewhat ungraciously superseded without any official notification and on April 1, 1867, the first of the new governors, Major-General Sir Harry Ord, took up his appointment.

The change in the position of the settlements on the Malay Peninsula from being subordinate to the government of India into the crown colony of the Straits Settlements led to many important developments in both internal and external policy. The lines of development indeed had been laid down by the East India Company's official, but the imperial officers who succeeded them had a more direct interest in the colony as a part of the British imperial system. One of the chief reasons for the change of status was the recognition in London of the commercial and strategic importance of Singapore. Even before Colonel Cavenagh was superseded a commission had been sent out, of which the most important members were Sir Hercules Robinson and Colonel Sir William Jervois, to report upon the defences of Singapore, and it is worthy of note that the first colonial governors of the Straits Settlements, Sir Harry Ord, Sir Andrew Clarke and Sir William Jervois, were all officers of the Royal Engineers. Under their supervision an elaborate system of fortification was undertaken the expenses of which were defrayed out of the colonial revenues. Although the garrison maintained at Singapore consists of only one regiment of British infantry,

with details of artillery, engineers and submarine miners, the importance of its situation is thoroughly recognized and it forms the essential link between British interests in the Indian and the China Seas.

The imperial governors, though at first mainly occupied with the question of military defence, were not blind to the necessity of encouraging commerce, and because in the nature of things the continued prosperity of the province of Singapore depended upon the management of the Chinese a regular Chinese department was established with a branch at Penang. Certain officers of the Straits Settlements civil service, who showed special ability in mastering the Chinese language and special aptitude for dealing with the Chinese settlers, were detached for this department, and the office of "Protector of the Chinese" was created. It was realized that a special training was necessary for effectually dealing with Chinamen, and the creation of a special Chinese department, trained to keep track of the working of the Chinese community with its secret societies, its peculiar habits and extraordinary powers of combination, greatly simplified the management of the Chinese problem. Perhaps it may not be thought egotistic in the present writer here to remark that the present Protector of Chinese in the Straits Settlements is an old school-fellow, Mr. G. C. Wray, who even as a school-boy gave promise of a distinguished career alike by his ability in learning languages and by his skill in managing boys. Experience has amply shown the advantage of a special Chinese department if an Asiatic dependency like Singapore is to derive commercial advantages from the industry and intelligence of Chinese merchants, while controlling and checking the various dangerous and criminal proclivities of their compatriots.

In dealing with the Malays the chief difficulty bequeathed to the colonial government of the Straits Settlements by the East India Company was the relation between the British patches of directly governed territory and the independent Malay states which surrounded them. It has been already pointed out that the East India Company's governors and residents entered into negotiations with many of these states for the purpose of suppressing piracy. There had been more than one petty war, and it was felt to be highly desirable that definite relations should be established. This was not done by annexation. The example of India had shown that it was both more economical and more consistent with the legitimate national aspirations of the people, to recognize and control native rulers than to abolish them altogether and annex their territories. The example of Dalhousie's government of India has had a whole-

some effect on English policy in the Malay Peninsula. The governor who first attempted to deal with the problem of the Malay native states as a connected whole was Sir Andrew Clarke, who in the year 1874 signed treaties with the Malay states of Perak, Selangor and Sungei Ujong by which the rulers of those states entered into relations with the government of the Straits Settlements, not unlike those entered into by the feudatory states with the government of India, binding each native ruler to accept the presence of a British Resident who should advise the ruler as to his duties. This loss of independence, for however disguised it might be, the presence of a British Resident did diminish the importance of the native ruler, led to an outbreak in Perak. The British Resident, Mr. Birch, was murdered at the instigation of the Sultan in 1875, and military operations had to be undertaken. The campaign, which was directed by General the Hon. Francis Colborne, was short and brilliant. The advance was led by the First Gurkha Regiment, which penetrated the fastnesses of the Malay kingdom, and Capt. G. N. Channer won a Victoria Cross for a deed of exceeding daring in turning the enemies' most formidable line of defence. The Sultan surrendered and was deported. But the country was not annexed; a relative was placed upon the throne and from that time on the control of the Malay states through British Residents has been the rule throughout the Malay Peninsula.

Sir Frederick Weld, who governed the Straits Settlements from 1880 to 1887, continued the work of spreading the British protectorate over the native Malay states by bringing under the control of British Residents the confederated States of Negri Sembilan in 1886 and the important state of Pahang in 1887. In each of these native states British government was introduced in the names of the respective rulers by officers of the Straits Settlement civil service. The collection of the revenues was revised so as to be just and enlightened instead of arbitrary; public works were undertaken on an extensive scale; forces of police were established for the maintenance of the peace; sanitary regulations were enforced; and the native rulers were trained by the British Residents in modern ideas of administrative efficiency. But the national pride of the Malays was not as much injured as it would have been by annexation, and their religious fanaticism was not outraged by the overthrow of their Muhammadan sultans and ancient native dynasties. In 1895 the states of Sungei Ujong and Negri Sembilan were amalgamated under a single British Resident and in July 1896 an important step was taken for the promotion of administrative harmony. A treaty was signed between the four protected states, forming a federation under

the general control of a Resident-General, and the federated states agreed to furnish troops for colonial service in case of war. The governor of the Straits Settlements was further given the office of High Commissioner of the Federated States, and his position was assimilated to that of the governor of Cape Colony, who is also High Commissioner for South Africa, and of the governor of Fiji, who is also High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. The credit of acquiring the control of the Malay Peninsula with the least possible friction to native sensibilities belongs partly to the successive governors of the Straits Settlements, but they would be the first to admit that their success was mainly due to the exceptional knowledge of the Malay character possessed by well-trained and experienced officials like Sir Hugh Low, the pupil and friend of Rájá Brooke, who for forty years was the most efficient administrator and agent of civilization among the Malays, and Sir Frank Swettenham, the present Resident-General in the Malay Protectorate.

A word must be added about the native state of Johore, which lies between the Malay Protectorate and Singapore. The sultans of this state, ever since the cession of Singapore, have made their chief residence in the island and have become semi-Europeanized, to the adoption, indeed, it is said, of European vices as well as European virtues. The state is administered on British lines and, although not technically, is practically a protected state. It is not necessary here to enter into the details of the various treaties made with the state of Johore, which are complicated by the rival claims to sovereignty of the sultan and a chief entitled the Tumangong ; it is enough to state that in 1887 the treaty was signed by which all foreign relations of the state of Johore were confided to the government of the Straits Settlements.

The friendly relations established in the days of the East India Company between Singapore and Saráwak have been maintained since the control of the Straits Settlements passed from the East India Company to the Crown. In 1868 Rájá Brooke died and was succeeded by his nephew, the present Rájá, who is in England Sir Charles Johnson Brooke. The second Rájá has followed the policy of his famous uncle and administered his state not so much for private profit as for the extension of the prosperity of his subjects. The state of Saráwak has steadily expanded with the consent of the British Government through cessions made by the Sultan of Brunei, and the second Rájá of Saráwak now rules over a territory of 41,000 square miles, containing a population of over 300,000. The policy of taming the Dayaks of Borneo has steadily proceeded, and their most objectionable practices, such as piracy and head-hunting,

have been checked. The officers of the Rájá of Saráwak have been active in reclaiming to civilization his savage subjects, and have done this without forcing upon them too rapidly the ideas of Europe. It is the practice of the Rájá to entrust his officials with wider power and larger responsibility than is done by the government of the Straits Settlements, and with the happiest results. This is not the place to narrate the fascinating tales told to the present writer by Mr. Charles Hose, a member of the Saráwak civil service. This able officer is perhaps better known as a naturalist and explorer than as an administrator. His identification of the flora and fauna of the mountains of Borneo with that of the Himaláyas has proved that Borneo belongs to the Asiatic and not to the Papuan system. His travels have done something to open up the unknown interior of the island and his mastery of the Malay character has enabled him to obtain a degree of personal influence over his people which may be expected to lead to further results. As the Saráwak state has increased its borders and become more prosperous, the Chinese difficulty has continued to grow. Wherever towns are established as centres of trade and seats of government the Chinese come, and the difficulty of keeping the peace between them and the Malays is very great. With regard to the position of the Rájá of Saráwak it is to be noted that he possesses all the attributes of internal sovereignty. He arranges the collection of his revenue, including among its sources, somewhat to the indignation of purists, gambling licenses; he issues his own stamps; and he legislates for his dominions. He governs with the assistance of a council consisting of his chief English officials and certain leading natives, and his territories are divided up into districts governed by officers termed "residents," who perform judicial as well as administrative functions. There is no supreme court of justice in Saráwak; appeals are heard by the Rájá in council, and in this respect may be seen a marked difference from the administration of the Straits Settlements. A further distinction is to be noted in the fact that the Rájá's police force consists entirely of Malays, and that he does not, like the government of the Straits Settlements and the North Borneo Company, import Sikh police from India. By a treaty signed on June 14, 1888, the state of Saráwak was officially placed under British protection. The Queen's government undertook not to interfere with the internal administration, but was given the power to determine any question that might arise as to the succession to the throne, to control all foreign relations and to establish consuls, while the Rájá of Saráwak agreed on his side not to alienate or to annex any territory without consent from London. To fulfil the duties of the protectorate thus assumed

by England the governor of the Straits Settlements for the time being is appointed to act as High Commissioner over English territory in the island of Borneo.

The protectorate of Borneo includes besides Saráwak the territories administered by the British North Borneo Company. This company, which received its charter of incorporation on November 1, 1881, was the first of the new chartered companies which have during the last few years been extending British influence in various parts of the world. The revival of companies with governing powers as a part of the British system of expansion forms an interesting chapter of recent history. It would of course be absurd to compare the British North Borneo Company to the famous East India Company, but some of its contemporaries in Africa seem likely to reproduce in another continent the work formerly accomplished in Asia. The British North Borneo Company arose out of certain grants of territory made by the independent sultans of Brunei and Sulu to Mr., now Sir Alfred Dent in 1877 and 1878. It is a proof of the changed ideas of the last half-century that Mr. Dent, instead of administering the territory granted to him personally, as Rájá Brooke did, preferred to make over the territory to a company formed for the express purpose of exploiting it. The powers of the Company are carefully laid down in its charter and the home government consists of a Court of Directors, eight in number, elected by the stockholders. The company is not commercial but governing, and its profits are derived entirely from administrative sources. It is prevented by its charter from becoming the possessor of a commercial monopoly, and its trade is freely thrown open to all merchants complying with its regulations and paying fixed custom duties. After the company had shown its capacity for effective government in North Borneo the British government entered into closer relations with it, and on May 12, 1888, a formal protectorate was declared over the North Borneo Company's territories under which all the foreign relations of the Company were transferred to the Crown, while it was declared independent in all matters of internal administration. A further step was taken to bind the Company and the Colonial Office more closely together in 1889. In that year the island of Labuan, which was too small to justify an independent colonial government and which had failed to fulfil the hopes of Rájá Brooke as an outpost of British trade, was handed over to the British North Borneo Company. It was agreed that the governor of British North Borneo should be likewise governor of Labuan, and the Colonial Office was relieved of the expense of the island dependency.

The administration of the territories of the British North Borneo Company is based upon the ideas in practice in the Straits Settlements rather than upon those at Saráwak. The first officials came from the Straits Settlements, which may account for this fact. The territories are divided into nine provinces, each under the control of a Resident, who exercises the powers of the resident councillors at Penang and Malacca, which greatly resemble those of the Collector of an Indian district in that they are both administrative and magisterial. At the head of the administration is the governor, who is not aided by a council, as in Saráwak, but is made directly responsible for the good order of the territories to the Court of Directors in London. The Company derives its revenue from import duties, stamps, a poll-tax and the sale of land. It has its own coinage and postage stamps, but it does not issue licenses for gambling or resort to some of the other methods of obtaining revenue which are adopted in Saráwak. The most striking difference of the two Borneo governments is to be seen, however, in their police systems. The first governor of the British North Borneo Company's territories, Mr. C. Vandeleur Creagh, was originally an officer in the Punjab police and made his reputation by raising in 1867 the Sikh police force, which was then introduced into the island of Hong Kong. When he was transferred from Hong Kong to the Straits Settlements in 1883 he showed his belief in the efficiency of Sikh police by raising a similar force for service in the protected native state of Perak. He pursued the same policy in North Borneo, where the maintenance of the peace is confided to a force of about 300 Sikhs under the command of English officers. The officials of the Rájá of Saráwak are opposed to the use of Sikhs in their districts. They assert that the natives of India cannot deal successfully with the natives of Borneo, and they prefer to rely upon Malay and Dayak policemen raised and trained by themselves rather than upon foreigners. Without pronouncing upon this controversy it is worth noting that there has been more than one serious outbreak in North Borneo, in which British officers have lost their lives, whereas peace has reigned throughout the government of the second Rájá of Saráwak.

The consideration that naturally suggests itself after this brief summary of the administrative evolution of the British dependencies in the Further East is the absence of any harmonious idea in the extension of British power or in the manner in which it is administered. For two hundred years various efforts were made by the East India Company to establish trading settlements in the Spice Islands, but spasmodically and without method. The rivalry of the

Dutch hindered their success, and in haphazard fashion, in order to save its existence amidst the anarchy which followed the break-up of the Mughal Empire and under the pressure of rivalry from France which threatened extinction to its trade, the East India Company laid the foundation of the British power in India rather than in the Further East. Considerations of European policy led the British in India to occupy the Dutch possessions in the Further East during the Napoleonic War, but a sentiment of generosity dictated by European political considerations caused the return of these Dutch possessions to their former owners in 1815. The temporary occupation of the Spice Islands had opened a vista of trade and power in the Further East. The English statesmen and merchants did not realize their opportunity, but a true builder of empire appeared in the person of Sir Stamford Raffles, and Singapore was chosen as the nucleus of future British development. The treaty of 1824 left the English supreme in the Malay Peninsula and prevented the Dutch from closing the path to the China Sea. Slowly, as a dependency of the East India Company, the free port of Singapore became one of the central points of the Asiatic trade. Further extension was the work in China of the British government and in Borneo of individual Englishmen. The First Chinese War gave to England the island of Hong Kong, while the same decade saw the foundation of the principality of Sarawak, and forty years later the British North Borneo Company undertook independently the extension of Rájá Brooke's work in the Island of Borneo. The whole story of extension illustrates the haphazard way in which the British Empire has been built up, and is a further proof that the extension of that empire has been the work not of far-seeing statesmen, but of the support by the government of individual energy.

The administration of the dependencies in the Further East bears the marks of their historic evolution. The law administered in the Straits Settlements is the common statute law of England as it was in 1826, when the separate Prince of Wales's Island government or presidency ceased to exist, modified by acts passed by the government of India up to 1867, when the Straits Settlements, as an independent entity under the Colonial Office, was empowered to legislate for itself. The Indian penal code with slight local modifications has been adopted and there is a civil procedure code based on the English judicature acts. In Hong Kong, where the East India Company never held sway, Indian precedents and statute laws have no authority, and the English common law is the basis of the legal system, modified by the laws passed by the colonial legislative authority. In British North Borneo, the Straits Settlements law



has been adopted with slight amendments, while in Saráwak the code enforced is simpler and its administration more patriarchal.

Although the law administered differs, and the systems of administration show marked divergences, the men who govern the natives in the Straits Settlements, in Hong Kong, in Saráwak and in British North Borneo come from the same class and are trained in the same traditions and ideals. Entrance to the civil service of Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements is obtained after a competitive examination open to all subjects of the Queen, and in subjects intended to attract candidates from the great English schools and the universities. The examination is now the same as that for the Indian covenanted civil service, and the young man who wins an appointment has won for himself a career in life. On joining his appointment in Asia, he at once receives a salary of \$1500 and is set to work to learn the native language. On passing in the languages, he is attached to some branch of the service, and begins his administrative work under the instruction of an experienced official. He is tried in various places and positions to discover his aptitudes, and if he be intelligent and industrious, he rises to high and well-paid official positions. At the expiration of his allotted term of service, he retires with a liberal and well-earned pension. The prospect attracts men of marked ability. Young Englishmen of the middle or professional classes have more liking for administration than for business. Many of them have had relatives in various branches of the Indian and colonial services for many generations and possess hereditary traditions of service in the East. The open-air life, the love of sport and travel, a real liking for the details of governing backward peoples, attract them to enter the service ; and once in it, enthusiasm develops their powers. British North Borneo and Saráwak draw their officials from the same class, but without competitive examination, and it sometimes happens that they obtain the services of excellent men who possess all the necessary qualifications, but who have not been able to stand the strain of competitive examination.

The system is not ideal in itself—what government of Asiatics by Europeans is likely to be?—but it may be asserted that the British system in the Further East, as in India, is the result of long experience, and that the officials form a body of highly trained administrators sprung from the very flower of English manhood, selected without fear or favor, promoted only after proof of efficiency, and looking upon their career as the means not only of gaining an honorable livelihood for themselves, but also of promoting, to the honor and glory of England, the extension of Christian civilization in the Further East.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.





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